

Opposition Bureau : D.A.R.

[REDACTED]

DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

**STATEMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA
CONCERNING THE PROPOSED PEACE TALKS**

Venerable Monks and Fellow Citizens:

The following statement is being made in order to clarify and inform you of the true developments concerning the rejection on May 28th, 1989, by the Saw Maung military junta of the offer of mediation between the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) and the junta by its neighbor Thailand.

The DAB is composed of democratic, religious, expatriate, and student organizations who together resolutely oppose the Ne Win/Saw Maung military junta. We want to assure you that the Alliance will continue to fight with determination until the downfall of dictatorial militarism in Burma. Moreover, the DAB will pursue its objective of creating a peaceful and prosperous Federal Union.

The Ne Win/Saw Maung military regime seized state power and has ruled as a military dictatorship with the intention of suppressing the equality and freedom of the ethnic nationalities. Because of this system, the nationalities, including the Burmans, have been trampled under Burmese military jackboots resulting in the total denial of all human and democratic rights. Due to the severe oppression of the military regime and its cohorts, the party and council members, a spontaneous general uprising broke out when the students, monks, and the entire people could bear oppression no longer. The military regime does not want to relinquish its power and privileges which it has gained and enjoyed for 26 years but instead has desperately clung to power by killing thousands of demonstrating students, monks, and civilians. We do not believe it is in the nature of such power-mongers to ever voluntarily transfer power to the people.

The Thai leadership initiated a mediation effort for peace talks between the military junta and the democratic forces in the DAB in line with Thailand's policy of turning Southeast Asia's front lines into economic zones with the view to benefiting the future well-being of Burma. The DAB leadership accepted the Thai offer to mediate peace in Thailand especially since the process of the DAB to resolve political problems by political means whenever possible, if such can be done place, it was the intention of the DAB to give priority to the people's interests according to their democratic rights and the longing for the formation of an interim government. However, the Ne Win/Saw Maung military junta which had failed to implement the 1988 constitutional amendment and the 1989 election, refused to accept the mediation offer.

endorsement of the transfer of power soon
& the people's elected parliament

dangerous nature of the Rangoon military junta, which is an obnoxious insult to the goodwill of the Thai leaders who has offered to mediate for peace and regional development. Therefore, the DAB concludes that it is impossible for the military junta to enter into negotiations with the opposition for the sake of internal peace nor do we believe that they will allow free and fair multi-party elections.

The DAB cannot accept the idea of holding peace talks inside the country or without a third-party mediator because past peace negotiations with the Rangoon military regime resulted in a deadlock or failure because of Rangoon's demand for unilateral surrender of arms, the manipulation of facts for propaganda rather than presenting the views to the people correctly, and attempts to interdict the peace delegates on their way home.

If the military junta cannot rescind the oppressive edicts and regulations as demanded by the democratic forces in the urban centers, internal peace and democratic rights can never be obtained through negotiation. In addition, it appears the Ne Win/Saw Maung clique is desperately trying to salvage its political bankruptcy by military adventures against the democratic forces. It is now evident that they are using their troops as sacrificial lambs and are forcefully subjecting them to the influence of psycho-active mind-controlling drugs and alcohol during their assaults against the democratic strongholds.

We, the armed resistance, firmly endeavor to solve political problems and differences, which are the root causes of the civil war, by political means. However, because of the refusal of the successive Rangoon military regimes to solve political problems by political means, the civil war has dragged on for forty long years.

Even if the Rangoon military junta rejects negotiations as a peaceful alternative to solving Burma's political crisis, we, the DAB, will take whatever alternative is left and continue to fight on by whatever means necessary to achieve our political aims and objectives.

Therefore, the DAB affirms that it will continue to struggle on, hand-in-hand with all the people as well as all other political forces ready to join hands with us until the following political objectives are realized:

- a. The abolition of the one-party dictatorial system.
- b. The restoration of full democratic rights to the people.
- c. The cessation of civil war and the establishment of internal peace.
- d. The formation of a genuine Federal Union.

June 1st, 1989

General Executive Committee
Democratic Alliance for Burma

to the people's elected parliament



DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

19 June 1990

PRESS

COMMUNIQUE

ON

B U R M A A R M Y

THE CONTINUED AND UNCONSCIONABLE REFUSAL OF THE RANGOON MILITARY JUNTA TO TRANSFER POWER TO THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR DEMOCRACY (NLD), WHICH WON A LANDSLIDE VICTORY IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS RECENTLY HELD IN BURMA, HAS MOVED THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA (DAB) TO RELEASE THIS STATEMENT CONCERNING ITS VIEWS ON THE BURMA ARMY.

THE BURMA ARMY WAS FOUNDED BY OUR NATIONAL LEADER U AUNG SAN. IT VALIANTLY ENGAGED IN CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM AND FASCISM. IN THESE CAMPAIGNS FOR FREEDOM FROM THE FOREIGN YOKE ALL INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE LAND BORE THE BURDEN, SHED BLOOD, AND MADE SUPREME SACRIFICES TOGETHER WITH THE BURMA ARMY. BURMA ARMY, AS SUCH, SHOULD NOT BE THE PROPERTY OF ANY INDIVIDUAL OR A CLIQUE; IT RIGHTFULLY BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE OF BURMA.

SADLY, SUCH IS NOT THE CASE. SINCE THE DAWN OF BURMA INDEPENDENCE, SUCCESSIVE RANGOON REGIMES HAVE FAILED TO RESOLVE POLITICAL PROBLEMS BY POLITICAL MEANS; INSTEAD, THE REGIMES HAVE MOLDED THE BURMA ARMY INTO A FORMIDABLE FORCE, UNLEASHING ITS MIGHT UPON ETHNIC PEOPLE AND A HELPLESS CITIZENRY, IN THE MISTAKEN ASSUMPTION THAT THEIR POWER WILL REMAIN PERPETUALLY SACROSANCT. CONTRARY TO THE VISION OF AUNG SAN, THE BURMA ARMY WAS TRANSFORMED INTO A TOOL OF TYRANNY, SERVING EXCLUSIVELY THE INTERESTS OF THOSE IN POWER, PERVERTING INTO OPPRESSORS OF THE PEOPLE RATHER THAN GUARDIANS OF THE NATION.

DUE TO PATRONAGE THUS RECEIVED FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY, THE CORRUPT LEADERSHIP OF THE BURMA ARMY SOON CAST AN AVARICIOUS EYE TOWARDS SEIZURE OF POWER FOR THEMSELVES, AND THE FIRST ATTEMPT BECAME SUCCESSFUL IN 1958, DURING WHICH A CARETAKER GOVERNMENT WAS INSTALLED WITH GENERAL NE WIN AND HIS SENIOR OFFICERS. THAT POWER CORRUPTS AND ABSOLUTE POWER CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY IS A TRUISM SUARELY APPLICABLE IN THE CASE OF BURMA ARMY, WHICH STAGED A COUP IN MARCH 1962, EVISCERATING THE LEGAL CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND INSTALLING A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN BURMA, WHICH REMAINS UNTIL THIS DAY.

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offices to ~~be~~ orienting Thai policy towards unambiguous endorsement of the transfer of power from the
to the newly elected Parliament*

LEADERSHIP OF THE BURMA ARMY ESTABLISHED A PSEUDO POLITICAL PARTY CALLED THE BURMA SOCIALIST PROGRAM PARTY (BSPP), WHICH RULED THE COUNTRY THROUGH A ONE PARTY MILITARY DICTATORSHIP. THE BSPP WAS OPPRESSIVE, INCOMPETENT, RACIST AND CORRUPT, AND EVENTUALLY TURNED BURMA INTO ONE OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD. IT DESTROYED THE ECONOMY, ENCOURAGED CIVIL WAR, TOTALLY DISMANTLED DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, DENIED BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ENGINEERED A POLICE STATE THROUGH THE SERVICES OF THE HEINOUS MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (MIS), WHICH CAN ONLY BE COMPARED TO THE MOST ROGUE AND PREPRESSIVE OF INSTITUTIONS.

INDEED, THE MIS, CREATED BY NE WIN, HAS FOSTERED A CLIMATE OF PERVERSIVE PARANOIA IN WHICH EVEN MILITARY OFFICERS ARE PURGED ON THE BASIS OF THE FLIMSIEST SUSPICIONS OF DISLOYALTY, REAL OR IMAGINED.

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1988 MASSACRE OF INNOCENT PRO-DEMOCRACY DEMONSTRATORS, A MOCK COUP WAS STAGED BY THE POWER STRUCTURE, ESTABLISHING AN APPARATUS FOR THE PERPETUATION OF RULE BY FORCE. THIS APPARATUS IS KNOWN AS THE STATE LAW AND ORDER RESTORATION COUNCIL (SLORC). UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE SLORC, THE MIS AND THE BURMA ARMY CONTINUE PITILESS PATTERNS OF TERROR AND MISRULE, WHILE RATIONALIZING ITS STRANGLEHOLD ON POWER BY INSISTING THAT THEY ARE THE FORCE RESPONSIBLE FOR HOLDING THE NATION TOGETHER. IN FACT, THEY ARE THE FORCE RESPONSIBLE FOR TEARING THE NATION APART.

IN AN ATTEMPT TO CURRY INTERNATIONAL FAVOUR, THE SLORC, AS PROMISED, HELD ELECTIONS RELYING UPON THE FALSE ASSUMPTION THAT A PUPPET GOVERNMENT SUBSERVIENT TO THEIR WILL WOULD BE ELECTED. THE CONDESCENSION IMPLICIT IN THEIR CERTAINTY OF VICTORY UNDERSCORES THE REGIME'S ALIENATION FROM, AND CONTEMPT FOR, THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE BURMESE PEOPLE. INDEED, THE PEOPLE OF BURMA BRAVED THE REGIME'S INTIMIDATION TACTICS, AND RESOUNDINGLY GRANTED THEIR MANDATE TO THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR DEMOCRACY (NLD). THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA (DAB) NOTED THAT SIGNIFICANT SEGMENTS OF THE BURMA ARMED FORCES RANK AND FILE VOTED WITH THEIR CONSCIENCES, SIGNIFYING SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

THE NATION IS AT A CROSSROADS, AND THE WHOLE WORLD IS WATCHING. THE PEOPLE OF BURMA HAVE SHED THEIR BLOOD ON THE LONG AND ARDUOUS ROAD TO THIS HISTORIC JUNCTURE; THERE IS NO TURNING BACK. THE DAB, IN FERVENT SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF BURMA, IS CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC THAT ENLIGHTENED SEGMENTS WITHIN THE BURMA ARMED FORCES WILL COOPERATE WITH THE BURMESE PEOPLE AND URGE THE

UNARMED SILENCE OF THE MILITARY IN BURMA

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DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

OPEN LETTER

TO

GENERAL SAW MAUNG, CHAIRMAN, STATE LAW AND ORDER RESTORATION COUNCIL
(SLORC)

DEAR GENERAL:

WE, THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA (DAB), BELIEVE THAT THE BURMA ARMY, UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP AND THAT OF THE STATE LAW AND ORDER RESTORATION COUNCIL (SLORC) ITSELF, MUST HAVE BY NOW DEVELOPED A KEEN AWARENESS OF THE GRAVITY OF THE MISTAKES MADE OVER THREE DECADES OF MISAPPROPRIATED AUTHORITY AND MISRULE.

THE PROPER ROLE OF THE BURMA ARMY IS THAT OF THE GUARDIAN OF THE NATION. YET, THROUGH UNLAWFUL USURPATION OF POWER AND UNLIMITED EXERCISE OF SAME, THE BURMA ARMY BECAME, INSTEAD, PERENNIAL MURDERERS OF ITS CITIZENRY. IT IS A PROVEN FACT THAT VIA ARMED MALADMINISTRATION DURING THE AFORESAID PERIOD OF HISTORY, BURMA, ONCE A COUNTRY RICH IN THINGS CULTURAL AND MATERIAL, HAS REACHED A HUMILIATING NADIR. AND, UNFORTUNATE LITANY OF FACTORS, NOT LIMITED TO BUT CERTAINLY INCLUDING, CORRUPTION, FISCAL LUNACY AND UNRESTRAINED BRUTALITY FINALLY FORCED THE COMESTIC DISSOLUTION OF THE ONE PARTY DICTATORSHIP OF THE BURMA SOCIALIST PROGRAM PARTY (BSPP).

CONSEQUENTLY, THE RULING MILITARY JUNTA HAS BEEN PRESSED BY AN EXASPERATED POPULATION AND INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATION, TO ACCEDE TO THE BURMESE PEOPLES' DEMAND TO HOLD MULTI-PARTY GENERAL ELECTIONS.

IT REMAINS THE DUTY OF THE BURMA ARMY UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP TO HAND OVER POWER TO THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES WHO HAVE WON AN OVERWHELMING MANDATE INCLUDING SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT FROM THOSE SEGMENTS FROM THE BURMA ARMED FORCES WHO SUPPORT RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY.

THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA (DAB) REGRETS THE FACT THAT CONTRARY TO DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES IN THE MODERN WORLD, AS WELL AS THE GENERAL WILL OPENLY EXPRESSED, THE BURMA ARMY STILL REFUSES TO TRANSFER POWER. OBVIOUSLY THIS HAS SCARRED THE ALREADY TARNISHED IMAGE OF THE MILITARY IN BURMA.

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THE PEOPLE OF BURMA IN PARTICULAR, AND THE WORLD DEMOCRACIES IN GENERAL, ARE ILL-DISPOSED TO ACCEPT THE LAME EXCUSE THAT DRAFTING A CONSTITUTION ACCEPTABLE TO THE SLORC IS THE PREREQUISITE FOR TRANSFER OF POWER.

THE WORLD KNOWS BURMESE PARLIAMENT CANNOT ACHIEVE GOALS ~~✓~~ REPRESENTATIVE AND PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY ~~✓~~ IF SLORC INTENTIONALLY KEEPS SHIFTING THE GOAL POST THROUGH EXTRAJUDICIAL IMPROVISATION. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE SLORC DOES NOT POSSESS THE LEGAL, MORAL OR INTELLECTUAL AUTHORITY TO APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF A CONSTITUTION IN ANY FORM OR ACCORDING TO ANY ARBITRARY TIMETABLE. THE DRAFTING AND APPROVING OF A CONSTITUTION IS THE SOLE PREROGATIVE OF THE LAWFULLY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE.

THEREFORE, ARTIFICIAL BARRIER PREVENTING THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES FROM FORMING THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA MUST BE REMOVED FORTHWITH, AND PURSUIT BY THE SLORC OF ANY OTHER COURSE OF ACTION TRANSPARENTLY IS ILLEGAL AND IMMORAL.

THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA (DAB) AT THE JUNCTURE DEEMS IT APPROPRIATE TO REMIND YOU, GENERAL, AND THROUGH YOU THE RANGOON MILITARY JUNTA, THAT AFTER USURPING POWER FROM THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT IN 1962 IT TOOK MORE THAN A DECADE FOR THE BURMA ARMY, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, TO PROMULGATE A CONSTITUTION. THIS INTERVAL, WHICH CONSIGNDED THE NATION TO LEGALISTIC LIMBO UNTIL THIS DAY IS STILL FRESH IN THE MINDS OF THE BURMESE PEOPLE ~~✓~~ WHO JUSTIFIABLY REJECTED THE BSPP 1974 PSEUDO CONSTITUTION IN SPIRIT, WANTING THE POWER TO DO SO IN LETTER.

THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA (DAB) FEELS IT PROPITIOUS TO CAUTION THAT THE RESULTS OF CONTINUING MISCALCULATION, WILFUL OR OTHERWISE, BY THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP WILL UNAVOIDABLY RESULT THE BURMA ARMED FORCES AND ITS RANK AND FILE BECOMING THE TRAGET OF THE BURMESE PEOPLE'S ANGER AND AGONY, FURY AND FRUSTRATION.

IF THE RANGOON MILITARY JUNTA REALLY AND SINCERELY RESPECTS THE GENERAL WILL OF THE PEOPLE OF BURMA AND DESIRE\$ DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY THEREBY TRANSFORMING THE BURMA ARMY INTO A PEOPLE'S ARMY, THE DAB STRONGLY SUGGESTS THAT YOU, GENERAL, AND THE STATE LAW AND ORDER RESTORATION COUNCIL (SLORC) FULFIL THE FOLLOWING IMPERATIVES:

- (1) TO PLACE THE NATIONAL INTEREST BEFORE THAT OF THE MILITARY AND STATE POWER WIELDED BY THE BURMA ARMY, AND FOR THE SAKE OF DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, EFFECT IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE WINNING PARTY;
- (2) TO RENOUNCE THE DISCREDITED POSTURE OF SELF-DEIFICATION AND ASSUME THE MANTLE OF A TRUE PEOPLE'S ARMY;
- (3) TO IMMEDIATELY RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ALLOW THEM TO

PARTICIPATE IN NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION;
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21 June 1990

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA



DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

19 June 1990

PRESS

COMMUNIQUE

ON

BURMA ARMY

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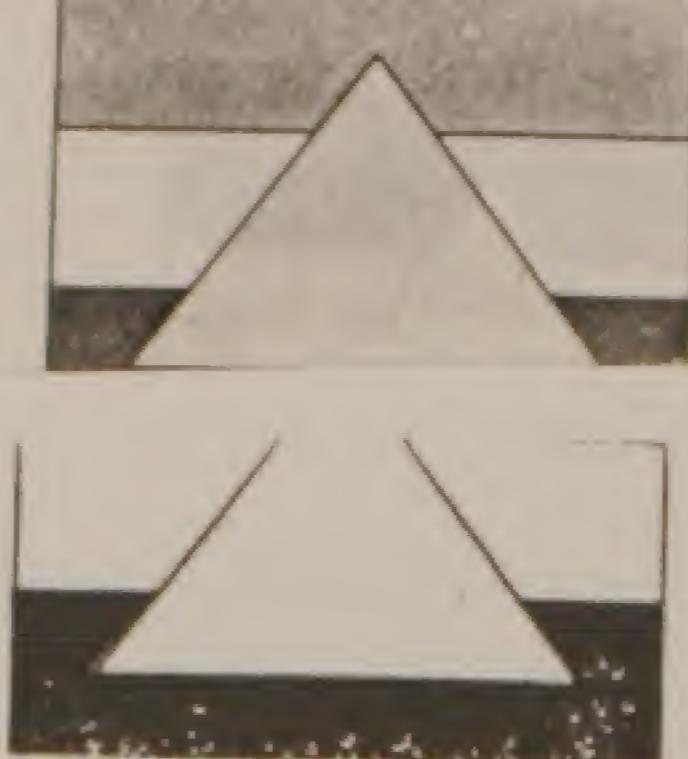
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STATE LAW AND ORDER RESTORATION COUNCIL (SLORC) TO IMMEDIATELY TRANSFER POWER TO THE DULY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NLD, AND STRIVE TOGETHER FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF INTERNAL PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA



DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

October 25, 1989

A REPLY TO U OHN GYAW, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE UNION OF MYANMAR (BURMA). IS THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION REALLY GOING TO BE FREE?

It would be welcome news indeed if the present military regime in Burma was really working for free and fair elections in our country, as the Deputy Foreign Minister told the General Assembly. But, unfortunately, he either forgot or deliberately left out many things that people should know about the preparation for the so-called election and why, if actually held, it will not be free and fair.

1. The Deputy Foreign Minister did not tell the General Assembly that because of his government's order 2/88, people in groups of five or more are prohibited from gathering publicly. Therefore, it has been impossible for parties to genuinely form. While it may be true that more than 200 have registered, what actually has happened is that names have been inscribed and a leader or two have been identified, but no real parties have come into existence.

Parties, as everyone knows, are assemblies of men and women working for common ends and goals. How can there be parties, if there can be no meetings, publications, or exchange of information in order to win support for a particular set of leaders and ideas. The military government is attempting to deceive the outside world with its registration of "ghost" parties--parties in name only which have never really met and have had no opportunity to test themselves in the marketplace of ideas.

2. It is true that there is an election commission in place. But who put it there and to whom is it responsible? Dr. Maung Maung, a creature of the old Burma Socialist Program Party, now called the National Unity party, was the head of the government in August 1988 and it was he who selected these individuals. They, in turn, were given their instructions by him and his successor, General Saw Maung, and it is the military which has overseen their work ever since. How can one call this an "independent" election commission when it has operated under martial law and has consulted only with the military rulers and with those civilian leaders which have been allowed to talk to it.

With General Khin Nyunt, the head of the Defence Intelligence and the other military leaders having to approve all of its work, how can it be considered as independent?

3. If this truly is to be a free and fair election it must include all the people and their own chosen leaders. Today, there are 11 political parties representing nearly 40% of the peoples of Burma, who have not been able to register and whose members will not be able to participate in the election. Because of the civil war that the government pursues and has pursued for 40 years, the minorities of Burma, who have not been treated with equality, are still outside the legal framework. Despite their willingness to take responsible roles in the emerging political system, they are excluded so long as they do not surrender and return to the fold on the military's terms. Therefore, the election cannot be considered a "free election" unless it includes the minorities and the parties which represent them.

What the world needs to know, and the Deputy Foreign Minister did not say, is that the minorities are on record as wanting to participate in a peaceful democratic Burma; that they are ready to stop fighting if the military halts its war against them. But so long as the war continues, there can be no free and fair elections, because so many of Burma's citizens are excluded. Let the world help bring peace in Burma so that all the people can participate in the election and then, we can begin to talk about free and fair elections.

4. How can one believe that there will be free and fair elections if leaders, such as Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of Burma's founding father and ex-General Tin U, former Chief of Staff of the Burma Army, who are the leaders of the National League for Democracy--the only registered party to demonstrate widespread popularity--are held under house arrest and, according to the press reports of October 20, they probably will not be allowed to participate in the forthcoming election.

What was their crime? That they acted like political leaders of political parties by holding peaceful rallies and sharing their ideas with the people in order to win support? That is what parties do in democratic countries. The army



DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

DAB STATEMENT ON THE SLORC LDC PRESENTATION IN PARIS

SEPTEMBER 5, 1990

The DAB has intercepted the document SLORC will promulgate at the United Nations Conference On The Least Developed Countries in Paris Sept. (3-14) in an attempt to replenish its empty coffers. This document is noteworthy in that it puts into bold relief the humiliating nadir to which Burma has sunk under the misrule of the regime.

At the conference SLORC will beg for money to finance projects in our benighted land. It is a national tragedy that the persons proffering the beggar's bowl will be the heinous junta itself. Had SLORC transferred power in the aftermath of the elections, as promised, the persons presenting this paper would have had a chance at securing relief in a dignified manner. As it stands, SLORC entreaties will probably be rejected at the conference, despite SLORC's statement (pg. 1 par. 2) that "As an LDC, Myanmar expects to benefit fully from the programs of debt relief and bilateral assistance."

The persons evaluating the financial requests of the conferees (which takes place after the conference) will correctly perceive SLORC as being unrepresentative of the nation of Burma, and therefore in no position to beg on Burma's behalf. The conferees know that SLORC is insincere in any attempt to paint their presentation as desirous of bettering the lives of the Burmese people. It is nothing more than a tiresome gambit to stave off as best they can the civil anger at SLORC's treachery and inability to provide for the people. SLORC will never be able to administer aid because the people of Burma will not cooperate, a state of affairs presumably understood by the attendees of the conference.

It is impossible for the DAB to countenance the continued suffering of the Burmese people under SLORC's yoke of tyranny. At the conference, SLORC is forced to admit that they actually have no mid or long term plans to better the condition of the people. This is because any "plan" proffered by the regime would be rejected, as SLORC is not credible, because they lost the election, and have to hide behind the figleaf fiction that they intend to transfer power. So they cannot even present the pretense of a plan. SLORC's presentation is a portrait of a regime facing disaster- their perfidious bombast is rendered impotent when under scrutiny by responsible world bodies, so they



DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

dare not even advance this bombast in objective fora or outside the pages of the Working People's Daily. SLORC appears utterly incapable of waking up and reading the national abacus. Their "open door" policy is a failure, as are all SLORC's policies. They go to Paris with national reserves of two million dollars (down from some 300 million at the height of the investment bacchannal) having predictably squandered most of their investment partner's money on repression and guns. This is no way to build a nation. They are in fact bent on tearing the nation apart, and the conference should know it.

SLORC whines in the presentation that Burma needs money to educate its best and brightest. We quote: "Myanmar may need to turn out qualified people in large numbers in a wide spectrum of subjects." (pg. 19 sec. C par. 104) They don't need money. What they need is to stop exterminating the best and brightest of Burma in the first place, and transfer power to the people's representatives. They beg for funds for universities that can't exist under their rule.

SLORC begs for money for hospital support, (pg. 4 sec. C par. 24-28) which coming from anyone else would be laudable. The conference knows that SLORC shows no remorse in butchering medical staff and shooting up hospitals if they so desire, as they have in the past. The regime shot Red Cross workers under the Red Cross flag, who were only trying to attend to the wounded in the 1988 demonstrations. On 15 August 1988, the Rangoon Lawyers Association issued a statement "...shooting the personell of the Rangoon General Hospital without provocation ...is a totally unlawful act." Indeed. As the Paris conference gets underway, conferees should be advised that SLORC has moved into urban positions the same troop divison which shot the hospital workers and students. SLORC needs reliable triggermen to support them at your conference.

Indeed, why lend money for training of medical staff when SLORC, at any moment, would turn and kill the trainees? The fact is, no one is inclined to make such a loan or grant to these lunatics. It is generally a requirement of grantmaking or loaning entities that at a minimum, the recipients must demonstrate rudimentary competence in administration of the grant or loan. SLORC fails to approach even this minimal prerequisite, and should be told so at the conference.

SLORC suggests that "Efforts have been made to raise the level of public investment through mobilization of domestic saving..." (pg. 7 par. 38). This flies in the face of kleptocratic regime policies of demonetization and SLORC's lack of qualifications to deal with inflation. Why would any Burmese in their right minds save money even if he had any, when the Damoclean sword of fiscal depravity hangs by so slender a thread? The answer of course is, they won't.



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The people of Burma know through bitter experience that the SLORC Kyat is nothing more than an IOU from a deadbeat regime with a chronically titanic overdraft, cancellable at any time on a whim or on the basis of an astrological hallucination. That it won't happen again is a risk the people of Burma wisely will not take. They know the faces may change, but with SLORC in power, the idiot remains the same. SLORC has got to go.

It goes without saying that NO MENTION WHATSOEVER is made in the Paris address that SLORC spends anything at all, let alone over 50% of revenues, on the military, in hopes of defending its position against its own people.

The litany of fiscal abuse and cruelty of the regime is endless, and the DAB might go on for page after page refuting point by point the document to be presented in Paris. But the germane question is, how long will the Burmese people have to suffer from a regime staggering through a fiscal desert, slurping on a canteen of the people's blood, oblivious to the consequences?

The mindboggling incompetence of the dictatorship in fiscal matters has been well enough documented. Because it has come to the DAB's attention that SLORC has already squandered all the cash "bonuses" lavished on them by private industry thus far, it is obvious that SLORC is desperate and will sign anything that keeps them in bullets. If only for these reasons, the duly elected parliament will have to convene a commission to laboriously scrutinise contracts signed during this obscene orgy between the avaricious and the desperate. Our suffering people and their rightful heritage will not be prostituted.

In the end, SLORC policies do nothing to inspire confidence among lending institutions. One prominent banker describes it thusly: "SLORC is like a rabid dog; viciously crazy, brain damaged and doomed, but not dead yet, and very, very dangerous to all who come within its bite perimeter." Because of this most bankers are leery of business investment in the regime believing that the danger extends to big business. Socially responsible investing is no mere fad, it is a MEGATREND, because it is SMART BUSINESS. And business people who swim against the tide of a megatrend drown.

Barring the unforeseen, the DAB echoes this sentiment, declaring that contracts between big business and SLORC are nothing more than doomed documents drawn up by people who cannot think, for scrutiny by people who cannot read, for the purpose of exploiting wealth which they shall not have.

After the close of the Paris conference, SLORC will fold its tent and wander to the next fiscal mirage - The IMF- World Bank conference in Washington, to - what else - beg for money. They

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needn't bother spending the airfare- it won't be reimbursed by anyone in his right mind. SLORC has hired consultants who tell them that they can secure World Bank funds for SLORC. These consultants are roving charlatans who will fail to deliver.

The DAB solemnly implores the Paris conference to recognise the following factors in its deliberations:

1. SLORC has been resoundingly rejected by the people of Burma, and does not represent them.
2. SLORC is not a government, but rather a thing that will not leave.
3. Every institution of significance in Burma is in rebellion, and opposes SLORC's presence at your conference and ;
4. Every institution in Burma cannot be wrong, despite what SLORC contends.
5. Funds for SLORC only perpetuate tyranny and serve to legitimize an illegal junta, to better enable them to retain their remorseless stranglehold on power. There is no evidence that money liberalizes SLORC, in fact, abuses of the regime grow with each cash infusion.
6. As the conference proceeds, SLORC is moving into position troops which have a proven track record in slaughtering innocents in broad daylight. Any credibility given to SLORC will reflect unfavorably on the conference itself.
7. SLORC's vaunted "open door policy", which will be propped up as a rationale for securing funds is doomed as long as SLORC is at the helm. Through paranoia, incompetence and greed, the SLORC economy is in reality more centralized than ever.
8. The economy is in fact mutating out of SLORC's control-graphic proof that they represent no one save themselves, de facto or de jure. The DAB invites the UN to study this phenomenon independent of SLORC "guidance" to verify it.
9. There are nations represented at the conference who are sincere in their desire to generate a better life for their people. That SLORC might siphon scarce funding from genuine reformists would be inexcusable.
10. Lenders would be risking their money not in Burma, but in a cult of personality.



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The DAB and other opposition groups will formally request Barber Conable, President of the World Bank, and Michel Camdessus, Managing Director, IMF, to refuse to seat SLORC at the banking conference in Washington.

The DAB calls upon the conferees in Paris to maintain resolve in total rejection of SLORC's requests for money to finance programs that all conferees know cannot be responsibly carried out. If the regime continues to refuse to transfer power, the Burmese people have no hope of bettering themselves and therefore the nation.

Tin Maung Win
General Secretary
Democratic Alliance of Burma

DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE OF BURMA

The Democratic Alliance of Burma demands that the armed forces of Burma cannot ever be complete and live in harmonious co-existence that respects the principles of Lukapala and upholds the democratic ideals of peace, equality, justice, and freedom of existence among the nationalities. We call on all those who are and those individuals and groups who are anti-democratic and anti-nationalist in the Union of Burma.

On March 2nd, 1962, the practice of military authoritarianism came into existence in Burma. In addition, on September 18th, 1968, the Union of Burma became further enslaved to an even more brutal and repressive military dictatorship at the cost of the lives and blood of thousands of innocent civilians, including monks and students.

The Democratic Alliance of Burma was formed by the unanimous consent of 22 groups, consisting of the armed national revolutionaries, the students and youths of Burma who have a long revolutionary tradition, and the patriotic Burmese expatriates living abroad.

The main objectives of the Democratic Alliance of Burma are defined as:

1. To overthrow the Rangoon military regime.
2. To establish a democratic form of government.
3. To end the civil war and restore internal peace.
4. To bring about national reconciliation and the creation of a genuine federal union.

We ardently call upon the students, monks, the entire civilian population, and the prodemocratic rank and file of the armed forces to join with us in this struggle for the restoration of democracy and national reconciliation.

We warmly invite those groups who oppose the Rangoon military regime and those who accept the basic doctrines of the Democratic Alliance of Burma to join us in the struggle.

We hereby resolutely declare that we, the Democratic Alliance of Burma along with the rest of the populace in Burma, will fight the Rangoon military regime by employing every military, political, and other means available to us.

The Central Committee
Democratic Alliance of Burma
10 November 1988



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The Presidium, The Democratic Alliance of Burma

10 February , 1990

Esteemed Colleagues:

As the Presidium member reviewing the situation in the United States, it has become apparent to me that certain steps are required to maximize momentum gained for our cause, and to coordinate the good efforts of those in the USA who would help us. The following decisions are the product of input from several responsible sources, all of whom agree these actions, and the persons authorized to take them, would serve our best interests.

I know that you are all familiar with James and George Pittaway and their efforts on our behalf. Therefore, pursuant to discussions held with them, I am authorizing these individuals to represent me as the General Secretary of the Democratic Alliance of Burma and a member of the Presidium, the supreme political body of the DAB, in furtherance of the following objectives:

1. To establish an office for the coordination of DAB affairs here in Washington. The function of this office will be to:

A. Lobby to sensitize the US government re: the overall situation in Burma and the condition of refugees in the border areas;

B. Coordinate media and public relations efforts on behalf of the Democratic Alliance of Burma;

C. Produce strategic research and position option papers to be presented to the Presidium. Areas will include political, military, economic and foreign affairs;

D. Create and develop a DAB central archive inclusive of relevant contacts and correspondence with various government offices and agencies, the media, academia, and trade interests, to be placed at the disposal of the duly appointed DAB plenipotentiary, Mr. Ye Kyaw Thu, upon his arrival in Washington.

2. Obtain funding and resources to establish college level instruction for the 3000 students now in refuge in DAB areas.

3. Contact and advise US and multinational business interests regarding short and long term investment opportunities and risks

Chavalit Youndichai

open NLD Consulate?

General Chavalit Yong chiyudh
Deputy Prime minister and defense minister
Government of Thailand

Dear General;

We sincerely hope this letter finds you in ~~good health and happiness~~
Happiness and good health.
We write to you sensing your knowledge of the fact that this is a
crucial time for Burma; the nation today stands at a crossroads.
Of paramount interest to all responsible parties is the maintenance
of ~~stable relations~~
of long term relationship between your great nation and ours.

Burma faces ~~heavy~~ ^{perilous} decisions in matters of policy in the near term,
which will no doubt have long term implications for ~~the~~ ^{its} the
nation. (~~itself as well as diplomatic~~ ^{Thailand's progress in} economic development while maintaining
an admirable posture in social development, diplomacy has alfor years,
been looked upon by the DAB as a model of progressive and enlightened
policy.) As you, general, have now aquired credebttials not only in
the ~~Armed~~ Forces but as a diplomat on the world stage, we seek your
insight as to ~~how best~~ maximize chances for harmonious relations
between our two peoples; now and into the next millenium.

We understand the overriding geostrategic imperatives which has
resulted in Thailand's posture towards the government in Rangoon. This is r
realpolitik. ~~But~~ ^{He} realpolitik ~~also~~ ^{laws for} dictates sensitivity to the fact
that the people of Burma, if compelled to accept conditions ~~of~~ ^{political}
which they sense are against their better ~~interest~~ ^{interest}, we ~~are afraid~~
~~their tolerance will be tested~~
that the Burmese people will resort to actions which are against the
cannot be restrained ^{we} We fear that of their tolerance...
interests of all parties.

We ask you to use your skill and influence inside ~~fusing~~
~~expoint situation.~~ ^{the effort to} Utility of your good
this potentially ^{help} flash point. By using your good
offices to ~~orient~~ orienting Thai policy towards unambigious
implementation of the transfer of power from the
one man's elected parliament